



THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY AMONG YOUNG REFUGEES RESULTS OF AN EMPIRICAL, QUALITATIVE STUDY?

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ABSTRACT

The following essay describes the results of the study previously described by the authors in their structures, which emerge from the deep hermeneutic evaluation of part narrative interviews (Link & Torrente 2016). For this, the results of the respective two empirical and qualitative interviews are presented in a phenomenological hermeneutic way, in terms of their various modes of experience and in addition, the essential key moments in the experience of the young people are described. Following this, a conclusion will be attempted at, which ties into these monographs.

KEYWORDS: Identity, narrative self, narration, migration, refugees, intercultural education.

Biographical outline of the interviewees

Milad and Faruk are two Afghan brothers who lived together with their family in Tehran (Iran) before fleeing. At 19 years old, Milad is the third son of the family. In addition, there is an older and a younger brother and a younger sister. The parents of the two fled to Iran in the 1980s as Sunni Afghans, whereupon the father decided to convert to Shiite Islam due to the social situation, which has affected the entire family. The parents and the brothers/sisters of the mother also live in Tehran. The father's family has remained in Afghanistan. It can be assumed that Milad and Faruk had an age-appropriate childhood within the context of Iranian culture. A particularly precarious tension arose however from the threats that were made to the family on the father's side: If they were ever to re-enter Afghan soil, they would be tracked down and killed for converting to Shiism. As such, the whole family faces great, dissociative tensions with one another from the very beginning. These can hardly be solved and moreover, they are unbearable. Over the years, the father managed to set up a factory for producing plastic granules and as such, this has enabled the family to have some financial protection. At the same time he is religious scholar of Shia Islam, which, to a certain extent, free him and his family of the situation of being shunned by the Iranians and outlawed as an Afghan. Nevertheless, the family is exposed to much discrimination and paternalism. The cultural split runs deep in their experience and permeates everyday life in almost any situation. The impact that divisions of this type can have (as can be understood and arranged psychodynamically) have been discussed in detail by Utari-Witt (2015, 62 et seqq.) based on examples of splitting mechanisms and ambivalence conflicts in the migration process. In Iran, Milad went to school up until the age of 16 years, when he then worked in his father's factory. 20-year-old Faruk also attended school, however he did not take up work in his father's factory. Given the desperate situation in terms of their social and professional future, the two decided to flee to Europe a few years ago, however a few more years of considerations passed until in 2011, both of them actually began the flight on foot. Via the Iranian border, they fled to Turkey and from there, they continued on foot and partly by train to Greece, in order to finally get over the Balkans to Austria and Germany.

Interview I: Milad

Experience mode: School and training

For Milad, school and training appear to be bearing pillars for the consolidation of his new existence. Although, according to age, he was not always full of ambition and commitment, at least at school level, great appreciation was expressed so that he can enjoy a relatively free education. This seems to do justice to his main goal of free development and he contrasted the conditions to those in Iran where, according to him, the failure of human will is described by the external circumstances which affect a man and expose him to tensions which, in the worst case, are discharged in an aggressive approach towards others. In contrast, he seems to be grateful for the conditions to here and wants to do his best, which is clearly exemplified from the way he deals with work colleagues, whose assistance he sees (in his experience) as indispensable for his own life and survival, and something which he appreciates accordingly. Milad's diplomatic balance in terms of his value judgments is also of importance. In his descriptions he often put good and bad parts into perspective, so it was possible to convey an overall picture that was as unobtrusive as possible. Although his balance, with which he talks about his school years in Iran seems to be suggested to a certain degree by the interviewer, our further enquiry simultaneously reveals Milad's special diplomacy which, at the same time, is reflected in his social life and seems to be one of his great strengths in dealing with the people, because

he largely avoids extreme opinions and as a result, no offending takes place. This fundamental avoiding of offending and not standing out was clear significantly earlier in his father's factory when, at his own request, he wanted to be employed as a normal worker. In doing so, it is possible that this is also a kind of survival strategy, to want to live as undisturbed as possible as an Afghan in Iran.

Experience mode: Friendships and relationships

Milad seems to find his footing in broader society. He expresses a will to get along well with all people in Germany, but places particular emphasis on the importance of two strong friendly relations in the field of work. Especially in relation to the friends in Iran, he describes himself as a man who has maintained many friendships and as such, he has gained a feeling of never being alone. Consequently, for Milad, human relations are a great foothold in an otherwise uncertain society, another expression of identity-sharing that has already been revealed in terms of his professional training. With reference to his friendships in Iran, Milad states mutual unconditional helpfulness in every respect, rather than the moment of a friendship. This trust and reciprocity are borne by a protective and supportive responsibility for each other. This goes so far that in his sacrifice for friendship, it is possible to recognise a fundamental willingness to surrender own resources and ultimately themselves to support the other - the highlight of his inconspicuous mimicry to society.

We find the confirmation of our assumption where Milad clearly subordinates material values below social values - the importance of safety through interpersonal relationships, makes him immune to his biggest fear: Being alone and with it, lonely and insecure. In this case, confidence towards others is a functional means to gain their trust, so that a stable relationship can be established. Firstly, this clever social setting may be caused by cultural socialization lines, especially by his personal story of being a social outcast, who just seeks stability elsewhere in this sense of feeling lost. At the same time, he seems to have succeeded in unconsciously emphasising the normalcy of his social relations and the normality of his own identity, thus further weakening his role as an outcast so that he feels he belongs to the wider society.

However, at this point we discover little doubt as to whether Milad's views are really marked by such unbridled optimism, or whether he only uses this auto-suggestion to keep his basic trust stable. As a whole, a picture expressed of a person, who wants to make good with all and therefore preserve the diplomatic neutrality that has already been described: The desire for protection against being alone and loneliness should be protected in the social fabric by a kind of opportunistic approach, so that possibly, he is of more importance than the authenticity and depth of these relations.

Finally, the image of relations with other Afghan refugees is interesting, and allows inference to Milad's family relationships. While he reflects on relationship with friends from the past, in Iran, very positively, when it comes to friendships in Germany, the commonality of problems is in the foreground. This results in a fundamental understanding for the feelings and problems of the respective other, which enables a stable and strong attachment. At first, the same commonality was evidently based on a partly aggressive reduction in frustration together, but Milad describes a continued improvement in relations on the basis of the cultural learning process in Germany which, in a sense, enhances the maturity of young people. As such, the cultural education processes that Milad describes are partly collectivised, so that the young refugees realise their common problems as

solidarity, and grow together more and more.

Experience mode: Family and home

Milad's immediate expressions of love towards Faruk is remarkable. In particular, the helpfulness he has experienced through his older brother should account for this basic feeling. Milad does not in any way express anything negative about the relationship, which leads us to conclude that the two never discuss or confront bad things. On the one hand, this is an expression of the deeply empathetic desire of the two, not to make each other sad or feel hurt, and this gives Milad the feeling of a stabilisation of the relationship. Particularly in the light of the findings from the second interview however, it is questionable whether the basis for this apparent stability does not lie in not wanting to discuss basic things further, in order not to jeopardise the relationship through differences and disagreements that are too large.

As the relationship with the family is characterised by benevolence and a loving and liberal approach to one another, it can be assumed that the process of detachment was more extreme for Milad. Of paramount importance is the fact that the parents of the two brothers themselves lived through flight, as they fled from Kabul to Tehran in the 80s. The circumstances of the flight will not be discussed in the interview, but it is assumed that they were interwoven on a transgenerational basis by the brothers with their own experience of being outcast, at least in parts. This follows the unconscious internalisation of parental views, which the brothers thereupon consider as their own, but without having relevant experience themselves. To a certain extent, the flight of Milad and Faruk is therefore within the poles of parental experience and their conscientious awareness. It is possible that Milad only understands separating, because he, in view of this tension, reframes his own flight in the face of pressure by the majority of Iranian society so that, at the same time, he manages a kind of closeness to the parents by understanding their ideas of identity.

This is of course highly speculative. Another reason for the flight is indicated when one is made aware of Milad's portrayals of the parents: The absence of documents, the lack of official status, the lack of a formal bureaucratic framework for their own lives, all of which can be considered in its entirety as a lack of an official identity on the part of parents. This consideration of the anchoring of the family (culturally and in terms of identity) is dealt with below.

Experience mode: Identity and culture

Against the background of the parent's flight and far-reaching exclusion from Iranian society, the cultural anchoring of identity is deeply fragmented. This fragmentation serves as a kind of inner mental map which, in the meaningful adaptation of the parents' flight, the two brothers make different references to their notions of identity. In this respect, Milad feels responsible towards his parents, as he does not want to squander their favour. Nevertheless, he struggles against his parents' wishes for him and his brother and after long and repeated quarrels, decides for the flight to Europe. Milad carries out this flight in order to live differently from his parents and to have better options than them. Looking at the family history, so you can read something else from his descriptions of his parents' life. As a result of the flight from the Afghan family, the conversion to the Shia and the conflicting life in a foreign society, it is assumed that the identity of the parents has deeply disintegrated, both in terms of the understanding of self and the foreign. This makes Milad's desire for social anchoring and the self-development of his identity stronger, so that unlike his parents, he wants to establish a social identity. At this point, his particular adaptability and unobtrusiveness can apply as a functional and profitable repetition of the parental loss of identity, something which he takes advantage of in social interactions in such a way, that the seemingly selfless unobtrusiveness helps him to gain social acceptance, which opens up the shelter of identitarian development to him. The progressive overcoming of his own and his parents' past towards steady and multidimensional progress is an expression of his objective to obtain a state-protected, individual identity as a citizen, a professional status as well as a social anchorage and recognition.

At this point, the identitarian relationship to culture and homeland is clearly directed to Afghanistan, which remains unknown as a home and as such, at a certain distance. This manifests itself when dealing with the fate of the country, where it is clear that the identification with Afghanistan is marked by great compassion and significant personal references, but at the same time brings insecurity, as he has never got to know the country and its fate, from the current point of view, cannot be understood.

Milad seems to be deeply homeless by his flight, not because intrapsychically, he feels should belong to any culture, but because the Afghan homeland remains unknown in essential parts and on the other hand, Iranian culture occurs as a usurper of his own freedom. As such, the identity problem of the parents also extends over Milad's identitarian understanding, in the space of different cultures. To solve the tensions, he had to flee from the rigid environment into a culture that allows him to freely connect the various identitarian parts. In so doing, the flight to Europe seems functional to him. Already in advance, he considered the importance of freedom of expression as the basis of free development. A significant step towards the unfolding of identity and anchoring is in the granting of asylum, which is equivalent to a formalisation and materialisation of identity that unfortunately, the parents could never get. This consolidation and recognition of the status of individuals simultaneously allows a rethinking of family relation-

ships on the part of Milad. By securing the status, he then managed relief on the family, which he humorously expresses during the interview.

Experience mode: Flight and confronting trauma

Milad's experience of flight is expressed reflexively in descriptions of two scenes. The first relates to the perception of the fate of other refugees in a park in Athens, whose fate he recognises very empathetic as stressful, but at the same time, as motivation.

Due to his strengths, of being able to take on the perspectives of others, Milad recognises the importance of the opportunities in life. His current ambition to move forward in his own life and to capitalise on his strengths, is therefore, if not necessarily a sense of guilt, then at least a sense of gratitude and responsibility towards those who do not have these options. This is something which in addition to the scenic portrayal, is expressed again later on to describe a type of perilous gauntlet in the form of a fight, which he and his brother got into. Avoiding the feeling of dejection is something which consistently permeates all dimensions of Milad's experience, as it appears today. This is not the same as saying that he is not sad, that he is never desperate, that he is never exhausted or that he never is disoriented - in any case, fighting high again and moving on may seem to us as one of his greatest mottos in life. This progressivity is also an essential prerequisite for the success of the flight, he would not have managed in this form without his great desire for progress and survival.

In this respect, for Milad, the significance of the current situation in Germany is boosted, as he seems to have focused much of his consciousness and actions on the present. In terms of his identity, a strong reference to German culture takes place, which sometimes resembles a kind of displacement. In comparison to the other, this is exaggerated and glorified, not least because expression is found with reference to the culture of the past, ultimately because the family seems to be maintained. Milad sought a cultural home away from the parents. He found this in Germany. These changes seem to strengthen Milad in his desire to use the opportunities for free development in such a way that he walks into an unobtrusive but individualised life, whereby through an understanding for others, he avoids coming into conflict with them. The white card is a symbolic milestone in the unfolding of one's own identity which at this point, finds a formal anchor. For him, the difficult experience of flight is seen as a personal commitment towards his own freedom, so that its value is enhanced further. Referring to these thoughts, he referred to the behaviour of other unnamed refugees who, as a fear of freedom, make a lot of problems in the new society, despite the painful experience of the flight. Milad's idea of freedom should therefore be considered as a tension between progress and loss, in which he in turn recognises the opportunity to lose himself, as it were, in the new culture. By aligning his progressive and personal progress to the values and forms of the new culture, he also manages to live his life largely undisturbed and unrestricted. As such, the glorification of German culture is used functionally to strengthen the unobtrusiveness, even though this may not be done consciously:

Interview II: Faruk

Experience mode: School and training

Importantly, Faruk actually approached to the various training sessions with confidence. Here, he stressed his efforts in the same context in which he laments the failure of others to render assistance, which ultimately, and in several steps, would have led him to terminate his training in Germany. It seems that Faruk reenacts his failure again and again, in order to emphasise the guilt of the others in his failure, where it cannot be his fault. These thoughts must seem to us as risky, but we find a kind of declaration in Faruk's retrospective on his education in Iran. Faruk's basic feeling is that of an outcast who does not belong to the wider society. He must have experienced this as an Afghan in Iran, where his emphasis on the fault of others also caused this basic feeling in Germany. Here, a pattern seems to be repeating: In Iran he already chose to start work, when he felt that his own school goals were unattainable. As such, society played a central role, as this put a brake on Faruk in several ways: First, it was impossible for him to fulfil certain social conditions for academic study, which at least can be explained by a large extent by his status as an Afghan, on the other hand, one should consider the enormous disadvantages in the form of harassment, insults and teasing, which would have made Faruk's focus on academic achievement extremely difficult. At the same time, the future is a kind of glorified fleeing point, without him so far managing to show the work that is necessary for it. Rather, it seems as if Faruk not really want to achieve his goals, as with it, he would lose absolution for the condemnation of others which is important for his identity.

Now, from this retrospective, Faruk's idea of his future emerges, wherein his desires are shaped by the stories of various people he knows. Contrary to his own considerations, Faruk adopts the illusion of his acquaintances that even without the completion of training, a good position and a good income could be achieved through performance alone. This follows his desire to have a management position within a few years and to achieve material security in order to lead a much better life compared to Iran. In particular, the formation of far reaching networks is highlighted as significant, because he received financial support through his friends and with them, can build up something together. Despite the functionality, these social relations are once again an expression of Faruk's identitarian dependency on others. Even at this point, Faruk's model of performance is expressed: Willingness to perform in order to achieve own goals, is

mainly intended in areas where formal failure is not to be expected. However, at this point, Faruk tries to pursue other than the easy way: Otherness as an expression of independence in his own way, which is not only clear from his extravagant external appearance. As such, the identity of the outcast is positively reinterpreted as an image of a man who lives unconventionally and who acts in an unconventional way. The future however, is thought of less as a process of continuous self-optimisation as in the case of Milad, but rather as a refuge from the present.

Experience mode: Friendships and relationships

Unlike Milad, Faruk finds a quick answer to the question of what friendship means to him: A friend could be anyone, however he does not find a real friend, among all his many acquaintances in Germany. In this sense, for Faruk, even the roommates in the shared accommodation are rather pals for spending free time with than true friends - only his brother is a real friend to him, someone who understands and knows him. In contrast to this are his Afghan friends in Iran who, as a result of common childhood, he is so close to as if they were his own brothers. We also find this importance of a common childhood in Milad. The friendship with other refugees in Würzburg is deliberately kept at a rather a low level because he does not want to share with them his worries and traumatic feelings / images, in order to save them from unnecessary stress. Also in remarks about these, he always paid attention to only emphasise their good sides. As such, the relationships are deliberately kept superficial in order not to offend, neither through too much honesty, nor through the communication of common painful moments of stress. This represents a clear difference to Milad, who especially defines the friendships among the refugees through the shared experience and understanding of the issues. This is also expressed when in dealing with his brother: He trusts him, but would not want to stress him through the communication of problems. However, since this is also Milad's strategy, the two brothers barely share the stressful moments in mutual agreement with each other. At this juncture, it is assumed that Milad has averted, away from his brother, as Faruk, refused communication immediately after the flight, as we will learn later. Faruk's pattern is understandable when we consider his ability to come to terms with problems in friendships: While in Iran, he could forgive the mistakes of friends - and he also expresses that he considers himself to be the one who was responsible for the forgiveness - he hardly succeeds to do this in Germany, as the dependence on one another is much greater here. In this deeply unsettling environment that is caused by the absence of the family, the individual interpersonal relationships become similarly tense and brittle, by becoming ever more important. Faruk feels a great fear of loss and is trying, therefore, to strain relations as little as possible by keeping them largely superficial and out of reach.

Faruk also discloses that also, he cannot trust his girlfriend, as on her part, there is a lack of understanding. In her, Faruk identifies a completely different understanding of the world than his own and therefore, after initial attempts, has given up gaining her understanding. The different nature of the two world views especially leads Faruk back to the multi-dimensional differences their origins: Not only that, the girlfriend comes from a very different culture, she also grew up in a broken family, whose form seems to be quite dissimilar to that of his own family. A closer look at the relationship followed. It is questionable whether Faruk's image presupposes a friendship which takes on absolute acceptance, so that his worldview is not questioned in any way. Faruk's demarcation from the worldview of his girlfriend, is exemplary for his demarcation from the average view taken by society at large. In contrast to society, he feels foreign and misunderstood in terms of the key dimensions of experience. In particular, the freedom of choice in being able to help a person or not is something which Faruk met with a tense fear, he felt the freedom as too far-reaching. On the other hand, Faruk now perceives this great freedom in other moments as an enrichment, as it means the people have free will, which he bears with own responsibility. Therefore, it is only this free will which gives him the sublime opportunity to prove to others that he leads his life independently. This corresponds to the desire to end the assistance given to him as a youth and instead, to work without training, and the connected desire of independence. In particular, the freedom of self-expression through the designing of his external appearance is appreciated as this was obviously limited by the father, but this is not made explicit.

He describes the relationship with Milad as hateful and adds that this was based on commonality, at least before the flight and immediately after the arrival. It therefore remains open as to whether Milad is the one who does not honestly express his feelings, is not aware of these feelings, regards these earlier feelings as less relevant than Faruk or whether at the end, it is Faruk, who is looking for a kind of absolution for his feelings. It is clear that Faruk describes some competition with regard to his younger brother, though in retrospect he thinks these feelings are unnecessary. Likewise he forgives Milad for the vilification and insults and realises that he has become someone else.

With regard to his important relations, Faruk projected responsibility for his own life to such an extent, that at the end, he no longer assumed responsibility for their life, just for his own and in being his own boss, rose above her. In this form he patronised his girlfriend by lecturing her, about her money and her behaviour and also, attempted to have rights to her documents as part of her identity. Ultimately, neither Milad nor the girlfriend accepted Faruk's offered help in a form that would satisfy her, so that at the end up, both reacted with anger to the independence. In both respects, there was a similar basic model which, at key

points, tilted the well-intentioned sense of responsibility for the good of others towards patronizing behaviour.

Experience mode: Family and home

Contact with his core family is an important ritual for Faruk, which takes place at least once a week from both sides in a balanced way. The impression of a good and stable attachment to his core family also explains the underlying hatred Faruk feels to the rest of his family - this hatred also means loyalty to parents: Obviously there are tensions with the rest of the family despite the willingness of the parents. However, disappointment with the rest of family still seems to have a different and more personal reference. As Faruk complains, none of the rest of the family phoned the brothers in order to enquire about their welfare. So in a sense, through the view of his own identity, he is again seen as an outcast, whose family are not interested in him.

His desire to flee is described as being a great burden and adjustment for the family. Previously, Faruk had never been separated from the family, even for a whole day. Of course, it remains unclear as to what form the two boys' desire to flee has simultaneously developed and accordingly has also been simultaneously expressed, especially as the two boys have apparently spoken very little about their motives to flee. In a differential way, Ast (2015) made reference to the fact that flight and migration can have a conflictual impact on the process of adolescence. During the flight, Faruk experienced the support of his parents. Through prayers, he found this support to be very important and essential for the healthy success of the flight, which he perceived as very dangerous: Disability, prison and death - the various dangers passed him by because the family accompanied him spiritually. Parents have taken the blame from the brothers in the best way possible and have already made the initial internal liberation of the two possible.

Experience mode: Identity and culture

Faruk's repression by the majority of the Iranian population culminates in the impossibility of a love relationship with a girl, the story of which is something that he tells in stages through out the interview. Faruk met the girl in Tehran and based on his descriptions, only met her once for a short time. Through the years of waiting, there was much room for a glorification and an increase in the feeling, so it must be assumed that Faruk rather for feited his ideas of the girl. Unfortunately, through a series of adverse circumstances, he was never really able to get to know the true person behind it. If we make ourselves aware of Faruk's stand in society aware so we can assume that the rejection by the girl sealed Faruk's feeling of being a definitive outcast. Although Faruk realises that the girl does not carry the blame, he falls into a deep depression that he tried to ease through the consumption of drugs. He had no work and the self-injury increased to a suicide attempt, which apparently took place in a swimming pool - he was saved by Milad. Also suicide, directly in public can be seen as a signal to society, as both a last reproach and a cry for help.

The very intimate portrayal of the true reason for his flight conceals much about Faruk's identity understanding of himself and shows that the impulse to flee has obviously long been a driving impulse for him. In the face of wider society, he flees to the love of a girl, in the face of rejection apparently caused by social reasons he flees to drugs and in the face of the suicidal feeling he flees from Iran without a goal to start a new life in Germany. At the point where the association with the girl failed, this break is transferred to other relationships. He therefore does not succeed in any way to find a home in Germany, let alone elsewhere.

In Faruk's descriptions, a lot of internal stress is expressed in the desire to prove himself to all people at once: His parents, his friends and ultimately, his brother and the people at Don Bosco, who are representative of the whole of German society, who in his eyes vilifies the foreigners, and discredits their ability to contribute.

The free development of identity is however one of his most important motives, so that in view of his different experiences, it seems to irritate him more disproportionately if this identity is anticipated from him. In Faruk's partly cynical reaction to situations in which he, as a refugee, is exposed to mere stereotypes, he has a deep-seated desire for equality. In reverse, he tries to unload the intensity of this feeling more vehemently in his fear of being labelled by employing all means of mental and spiritual defence.

Experience mode: Flight and confronting trauma

Faruk impressively describes a scene from his nocturnal border crossing as part of the flight. The narrow path that allows no escape, the dangerous insecure hold on mountain debris, the inability to see due to lack of light, the fearful invisibility, the cold and the undignified subjection in the park - all this seems to repeat itself in his identity understanding towards the world, so that the different identity perceptions influence each other mutually. As a central feeling, Faruk once again describes the desire not to disappoint the parents who have been the biggest motivation for the continuation of the flight - the flight being the first proof of the independence of the other. Despite appreciation of the fundamental freedom to develop in Germany, Faruk assumes that in retrospect, he will not go out on a limb again, as to him, it seems to be something that is too dangerous. Also interesting is the distinction between self-perception and the perception of others, something which Faruk relates to the question as to whether he may have developed to become another person as a result of the flight: He finds it

easy to see that, for example, his brother had become a different person, but concerning himself other people must judge, he would not be able to recognise it him self. This corresponds to a fundamental overemphasis on labelling. Faruk finally revised the view that he had not changed and stated an important thought in relation to this: He is now more relaxed to the labelling by others, because immediately after the flight he did not feel like thinking about it - obviously he has reflected some time. The fact that Faruk is still making great references to his actual cultural home, clearly begs the question as to whether he has found a new home in Germany. He emphasizes an insurmountable difference to Iran in terms of the different levels of freedom. The fact that he did not feel at home in the face of great freedom in Germany, corresponding to one of Faruk's basic motives - the tension between the appreciation and fear of freedom.

The passport as a symbol of identity once again expresses that the adoption of this formerly foreign identity also opens up a protective space, without which development would become otherwise be impossible because he would have to return to Iran again. In a certain form, Faruk describes himself as having to give way a little, in order to be free in other respects. But this self-abandonment seems to be harder for him than other refugees, as he describes, that he has seen and experienced too much and to a certain extent, in view of the impact of these experiences, he does not seem to fully succeed in letting go of the secure identity-parts. In addition, it is clear from this description as well as from another perspectives, why he has taken up the flight and did not try to make money in Iran: You cannot buy respect, so even with money and a German passport, he would still be relegated to being a foreigner again and therefore an outcast.

Conclusion

Although the social background of the two brothers should be objectively measured in the same way and the bulk of the experience is also subject to very similar structures, the experience of the two worlds culminate at different key moments within the same modes of experience. As we have seen above, it is of great importance that the reference points of the two may be the same, the interpretation of the individual scenes and experiences, however, is completely different, as well as their weighting as a result of the reflexive confrontation. Beyond the experienced and imaginary story of their lives, the individual situations appear to break up into different parts in a different identity prism so that, in the end, a different identity appears which is respectively in constant interaction with the current situations in Germany. In its dynamics, it produces a differently evolving self-image. In pedagogical fields of action, the issues of "flight", "being tracked down", "migration" and "trauma", are of particular importance throughout the world, not only in Europe. It is often too easy to overlook with the "integration" of refugees, this also means inclusion because inclusion refers not only refers to people with disabilities, but there are also people of different sexual orientation, ethnicity and religious identity who are involved in the discourse surrounding inclusion. In particular, psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic education can provide a special insight and momentum for dealing with heterogeneous and vulnerable groups (cf. Bell, Holder, Janssen & van de Sande 2007). Within the field of pedagogical study, counselling and curative activity with refugees, research into aspects of transculturality are of particular note, also in terms of experienced traumas (cf. Kizilhan, Utz & Bengel 2013 261 et seq.). The field of special pedagogy, the relatively young discipline of pedagogy in behavioural disorders, and the field of psychoanalytic pedagogy represent the special expertise that is necessary in dealing with refugees in pedagogical fields of action. In addition to the pedagogical treatment and diagnostics into various behavioural problems, other areas of work include counselling and supervision. In addition, special consideration should be paid to trauma concepts that have a biopsychosocial model as a basis (cf. Gahleitner, Frank & Leitner 2015). The discipline of pedagogy in behavioural disorders has always been inherently associated with trauma pedagogy. This is why it provides a basis for such concepts and practical action. Even if trauma pedagogy should be considered as a separate discipline, in our view, in this relationship to special pedagogy, pedagogy with behavioural disorders should not be forgotten (cf. Rothdeutsch-Ganzer, Weiß & Gahleitner 2015 171-185; in addition, cf. Zimmermann 2012 15 et seq.). In Germany, special pedagogists (alongside psychologists, doctors and psychiatrists and psychotherapists) are the only profession, recognised for their diagnosis and this is relevant for determination support requirements in terms of prevention and intervention. It is all the more important that the category of trauma should be considered in the diagnostic process (cf. Schouler-Ocak 2015).

Within the topics considered in this paper, it is at least possible to glean symmetrical, even if not identical fields of tension that unite both youths in turn to a common reference point in their apparent differences. Friendships, participation in society, the relationship with the parents, being free of cultural stereotypes and socialisation, dealing with their own foreignness (represented by the unknown native country of Afghanistan), the tension between validity and invisibility, and between the need for help and helpfulness. These are all anchor points, from which in part, a diametrical development emerges. The very similar stories seem to be knit from the same words, but just told and interpreted completely differently. Zimmermann has also made reference to the relevance, meaning and benefits of deep hermeneutic interviews, as applied in our study (2015, 43 et seq.). Naturally, the present interpretation of the data is connected with the understanding of the authors, which is why, at this point, particular reference has been paid in this paper to the underlying work of Torrente (2015). This does not only allow a dedicated argument on the basis of interview segments, but also own

interpretation based on the completeness of all the collected material. All conclusions about social conditions and issues that go beyond these individual interpretations, which are likely to be deeply relevant for other social research, can be found in the aforementioned first article (cf. Link & Torrente 2016). Studies involving the foreigner always involve a study into and about yourself.

"In foreign lands and in exile,

man is like a spark,

who has been separated from his fire.

When he falls onto bare earth, he will go out,

but when he allies himself with twigs, you'll see him blaze."

(Abdul-Ala Al Ma'ari)

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